1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The crucifix early achieved status as a fetish, and the writer has known shamans to prescribe it. The same is true of prayers. In a case of epilepsy, which was, perhaps, an unfamiliar disease, the diagnostician did not call for guardian spirit songs in the usual manner, but, instead, ordered the women to sing the Rosary.

There was little attempt to reconcile the Papago and Christian theologies, although some very modern Papago now speak of I'itoi as the Papago Christ. The important supernatural adopted from the new religion was the devil. One remembers the position of this character in Spanish folklore, where he often appears, not as a dignified arch fiend, but as a coyote-like character who is always being worsted. The *tciaur* (Spanish, *diablo*) as described by the Papago, is a being of this type, gay, silly, and even kindly. He is not unlike the Papago guardian spirit, nor is he foreign to the scalp mannikins, dirty and mischievous little spirits who drive people mad with love.

We hear echoes of the scalp mannikins in the plaint of one girl who had been married to the devil in a dream. "Do not sing for me," she said to the people who came to cure her. "Only those can be free of the devil who wish to be free, and I have been married a long time." She described her supernatural spouse as old and bearded, dressed in white man's clothes and owning a car. Nightly he took her in it through the mountains and showed her the piles of unmined gold and silver. Her obsession has reminders of the scalp mannikin legend and also of the snake, who marries young people, making them neglectful of human love. A gayer vision of the devil was that of a young man who danced nightly on the mountains with devil boys and devil girls.

To another, the devil came quite in the guise of a guardian spirit. He looked "like a Mexican, with yellow face and black moustaches."(12) He appeared riding a horse, at the head of a cavalcade of devils, all singing. This arrival, announced by a song, is typical of the guardian spirits. Commonly the song is used for curing a disease sent by the spirit itself. In this case the song cured ailments of horses or the "horse disease" in humans. The linking of the white man's animal with the white man's supernatural seems very logical. Perhaps, had the Papago been left un-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

It has been the good fortune of the Papagoes to live 177
in a country which the white man as yet has not found it profitable to exploit by cattle raising or, still less, by dry farming. Therefore, they have so far been left alone in their native country, and besides they have even come into possession of a few wells which the Americans dug in their efforts to redeem the land. These natives are thus better situated than most of the tribes of North America.

The Papagoes are above medium height, rather dark 142
in color, and of splendid physique. The women are inclined to be stout. They are a peaceful but at the same 181
time courageous people and show much intelligence. They are hospitable, as becomes a desert people, and if 574
food is being prepared in the house when a stranger comes, some of it is offered to him, be he Indian, Mexican, or American.

In the central part of the Papagueria, especially in 177
the large valley of Santa Rosa and the adjacent Quijotoa 182
and Comobabi ranges, they live happy days without much interference from the whites. Some of the sum- [311]
mer rancherias astonished me by their extent of land fenced by wooden piles and poles, but in outlying districts many are forced to seek work from the whites, by whom they are much valued as laborers in the making of railroads, irrigation ditches, and in mining. The part of the tribe that lives in Sonora is much more disrupted; they have lost most of their lands and are largely servants of the Mexicans, doing efficient work as *vaqueros* (cowboys), miners, etc. The Papagoes also know how 177
to "dry wash" gold at the placer mines, many of which 316

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

177 are found in Sonora, and the discovery of one or two
916 large placer mines has been due to these Indians.

The Papagoes are by no means badly off, as a rule,
231 and they manage to make a good living where, so far,
511 the white man's efforts have failed. Their herds, adapting themselves to the arid conditions, are increasing and making the Indian prosperous and comfortable. Good mules now carry burdens which his wife or he himself formerly had to toil under; cheese is made from the milk of their cows and sold or used for their own consumption, and, above all, they have wheat and maize in sufficient quantities to last them all the year round. They
[439] also have wheat and occasionally some head of cattle to sell, obtaining in return commodities of civilized life.
[177 The white man's kitchen utensils are being acquired,
412] and the women have begun to find it more convenient to use flour than to grind the grain on the metate. No native race, though keeping its language, can help changing its ideas under such conditions. In a very few years there will be no more interest attached to the Papago than to the native descendant of the once proud Aztec in the suburbs of the City of Mexico.

191 Although the Papago in Arizona always insists upon
speaking his own language, still he is rapidly losing his
●182 aboriginal beliefs, customs, and habits; even basketwork,
177 for which the women of the tribe were noted, is falling into decay. Both in Arizona and Sonora the Indians have completely adopted the white man's garments.
177 Some old man may still be found in the more remote
291 parts wearing his aboriginal apparel, consisting of a

361 Some other localities are used temporarily or
221 seasonally as cattle and farm camps and others are used
[222] during the season of saguaro fruit harvest. It has been noted that in some instances scattered settlements are also used as "vacation" homes.

161 The Papago Population. The aspect of the Papago population most important to this study is its small size,
[162] relative to the large area it occupies. It is scattered over the entire Reservation in small villages, none of more than two or three hundred people with the exception of Sells,
[433] the largest town, where about 650 reside (Table 5). Never-
[182] theless, because the resources of the region are limited, the relatively small population is supported only inadequately, and its exact size is of importance in evaluating the relationships between the people and their resources.

[162] According to the count completed by the Bureau of Ethnic Research for the year 1959, which will be reported on in detail below, the total population of the main reservation was 4,166, with 628 additional Papagos on the San Xavier and Gila Bend reservations and 6,981 living elsewhere or with residence unknown, for a total living Papago population of 11,775.

The main reservation population of 4,166 compares with a total of 5,313 Papagos located on the reservation in 1914, according to a count made by Herbert V. Clotts (Clotts 1915). It must be assumed that there were relatively few Papagos off the main reservation in 1914 and

233 433 434 422 with this estimate Robert Roether, reservation cattle buyer, is of the opinion that from 25 to 30 families own more than 100 head of breeding cows. Both of the above estimates are higher than the estimate provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

178 433 Agriculture. Life on the Papago reservations has always depended, and still depends, upon multiple sources of family subsistence and income. The original pattern was a combination of hunting, gathering, and flood water farming. After 1700, hunting and gathering gradually gave way to cattle raising which, in combination with flood water farming, provided subsistence and some cash income. Farming is now declining and there is being established a new combination: cattle raising and wage work.

241 Flood water farming still persists, however, in spite of periodic drought, back-breaking work, and low [462] [887] [434] [182] yields. Wherever it occurs today it is usually an activity of older men who raise a small plot of corn, beans, squash, and sometimes winter wheat, to supplement their income from cattle, thus making it possible to live on the reservation the year around and according to the traditional Papago way of life.

Cash crop or commercial farming, as will be seen later, have not appealed to the Papago since competition from non-Indian farmers and the lack of running water require

the three reservations. Thirteen years later, in 1962, the amount of land used had decreased even though, at San Xavier, non-Indian farmers had been brought in to use idle land. Falling markets, a falling water table, and rising costs are perhaps the principal contributing factors in the failure to proceed with plans for the development of Chuichu. The almost complete abandonment of farming by San Xavier families has not been explained. Relatively small Indian holdings, continued division of the land among heirs, and the preference for wage work over subsistence farming are probably the primary contributing factors.

The prospect for a greater development of agriculture on the reservations has not, however, been abandoned by the Indians nor by students of agricultural economics. Mr. William H. Metzler, who conducted a study on the reservation during 1958 and 1959 for the Department of Agriculture, has estimated from a preliminary report by the U. S. Geological Survey that about 15,000 acres of land on the Papago Reservation could be irrigated from deep wells. He goes on to say (Metzler, 1959, pp. 46-7):

> "Less than one per cent of the approximately 3,000,000 acres in the reservation is adapted to crop production. Probably half of these 30,000 acres could be irrigated, the rest could be made suitable for flash flood farming. It is probable, however, that the Papagos do not need that much land for flood plain farming. Probably fewer than 300 families would engage in it and most would require only three to five acres each.

decades of tutelage by the Indian Bureau and tourists. And more Indians were affected than ever before--a quarter of the hitherto ultra-isolated Navahos; all the men in some Pueblos in New Mexico. Defense workers and servicemen learned new standards of living and new modes of behavior.

At the war's end they returned to inadequate reservation lands. For Indian population in the Southwest had leaped far beyond the human carrying capacity of the reserves--small remnants of original Indian territory held in trust for them by the government. While many smaller tribes stabilized at their size of 50 years ago, larger groups are rapidly increasing even though Anglo immigration submerged the total Indian minority ever deeper.

At the same time the Southwestern Indian land base deteriorated in quality so it could support fewer people, because of overgrazing, erosion, and other causes.

> "Faced by these increasing difficulties, many Papago families began regularly to migrate off the reservation to pick cotton and engage in other seasonal wage work during the winter months, while they retained permanent homes in their 'fields' villages where they spent the remainder of the year farming and herding. In time a new dual residence and economy pattern developed among the Papago. By reinforcing the rhythmic balance of traditional culture and personality structures the new pattern apparently met, to a certain extent, both immediate economic needs . . . and deep-rooted socio-psychological needs for security and opportunity for constructive development."*

*Thompson, 1951, p. 71.

WHEN? . . . A Hundred Days

000 To city people in southern Arizona "The Hundred Days" are the first hundred or so in the year when the main industry of the area is in high gear. Then tourists from colder parts of the country flood into the cities to pump enough dollars into the commercial system to last the rest of the year.

461 221 The hundred days of the cotton farmer come earlier, after the first of September. And they are really more than a hundred, extending usually into mid-January. But the cotton picking season is just about one hundred working days long--22 picking days to the month (5½ work days to the week).

Summer heat continues into October, and the picking that began about the first week of September with the opening of the first bolls is hot, sweaty work. More and more bolls open until the first killing frost which usually comes in mid-November turning the plants brown. Then leaves fall off and the last bolls open quickly. After that harvesting is a race against time to pick the lint before rain and sun deteriorate it.

464 221 [36] The Desert People begin their annual migration to the cotton fields months earlier to work at cleaning ditches and weeding and thinning the growing cotton. The harvest hands start moving into labor camps in August, and more continue to move in until the peak of the season in November finds perhaps 4,500 Papagos living in Pima and Pinal county camps.

221 The Desert People are old hands at seasonal migrations. For untold centuries they moved back and forth between their fields in the valleys and springs in the mountains where they went after the harvest and the drying up of valley water holes. The present migration out to the labor camps comes a little earlier than harvest time, and interferes with growing crops on the reserves.

221 280 185 182 "Despite the practical difficulties involved, the findings suggest that the development of this physical, social and

[Text continues on p. 22]

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psychological base in cooperative family life, with roots in the traditional homeland to counterbalance the wage work cycle is of vital importance to Papago well-being as a firm pivot around which the individual may build his new adjustment to rapidly changing modern conditions. As such, the new dual orientation may well serve as the focus of administrative planning.[1]

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However, an increasing proportion of the Desert People who work on cotton farms no longer make an annual migration from reservation home to labor camp. They have moved from the reserves more or less permanently, consciously recognizing themselves as permanent farm workers. Mostly they are irrigators, but do general farm work, and include tractor drivers and other skilled workmen. They contribute some labor to harvesting cotton, since men pick when regular jobs are slack, and wives and children pick off and on. These people made up over a fifth of the Papagos interviewed in the course of this study,[2] indicating that the number of Papagos living on farms outside the reserves all the time is relatively large, perhaps as many as 800.[3] They occupy an important place in the labor picture and economy of the cotton-growing valleys. Their ability to support themselves by wage labor is very important to the economy of the reserves, removing part of the population overload that cannot be supported adequately by the poor lands of the reserves.

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This form of adjustment to a radically changed economy has not progressed to its ultimate, however. In South Africa, where European settlers moved in and confined the natives to similar reserves, about 35% of the native population lives permanently on European owned farms.[4] If 800 Papagos live on southern Arizona farms all the time, only about 10% of the population is living on European owned farms outside the reserves. (Perhaps as many live in southern Arizona cities.)

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 71.
[2] 12 of 55 families, or 22.6%.
[3] About 2,000 Papagos picked cotton in 1950, and about 4,500 lived in labor camps. So approximately 200 Papago men may be working as year-round farm laborers, and their wives add another 200 part-time cotton pickers. Their families are somewhat smaller than those of pickers migrating from the reserves.
[4] Hunter, 1937, p. 360.

273 One isolated rural store, at
452 least, sold Papagos wine on credit in 1950—an
439 ultimate easing of the usual difficulty Indians find in buying intoxicants.

273 Many individual Papagos picking cotton probably
[434] have no cash surplus from their season's labor be-
[454] cause they spend all their extra money for liquor.
[511] They work long enough to get drunk, then lay off until
[526] they are both broke and sober again. This type of individual gives the whole Papago labor force a very evil reputation. But neither disapproval or employers nor social disapprobation within the Papago tribe seem to be strong enough to curb drinking.

000 Probably repeal of federal law prohibiting liquor
to Indians would remove some of the attraction liquor
[293] holds for the Papagos. It would surely cut down on the number of staggering drunks—the usual state of Papago drunks—in allowing the Desert People to sit down in a bar like other civilized human beings and drink slowly and socially instead of paying an inflated bootlegger's price for inferior liquor to be gulped down immediately in a dark alley before a policeman confiscates it. Some policemen make a semi-racket of letting known bootleggers operate, and waiting until Papagos are thoroughly drunk before arresting them—a practice resulting in considerable police department revenue, and some extra cash for the officers, if some
273 observant growers are to be believed. But the Desert
182 People do not drink merely because they aren't supposed
154 to. The basic reasons lie deeper in their psychology, and are undoubtedly tied into emotional insecurities bred from economic uncertainty and the stresses arising from getting along with only half-understood Anglos.

The Papagos are not addicted to
intoxicating drink, but smoking and gambling are so common among them that they will even stake their clothing on races, either by men or horses, and on the simple games with which they are familiar.

RELIGION.—The Papagos are nominally Catholics. Adults and children wear crosses and charms. They believe in witches and evil spirits, and buy charms to insure good luck.

At the little village of Ki-ki-wah, where there are a number of returned scholars, it was said that a simple service was held by these "graduates", in which they explained on Sundays the things they had learned about the white man's religion. At the village called Gunsight 2 Mormons have been living among the Indians for nearly 3 years.

EDUCATION.—The Papago youth of both sexes show considerable capacity for mental culture. Many of the Papagos speak Spanish fluently, even after having been at school for 2 or 3 years. When at home on their vacations they only hear Papago and Spanish, which tends to the disuse of what English they have acquired. They are docile, mild in disposition, and well inclined toward their teachers. They learn slowly but surely. The chief difficulty of receiving any permanent benefit from educating them is that they are so disastrously affected by the conditions which meet them when they return to their homes. They virtually return to barbarism and all old influences of a nonprogressive character.

The boys readily learn improved methods of agriculture, also the trades of tinsmith, blacksmith, and carpenter, while the girls learn sewing, cooking, and the general duties of housekeeping.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.—During the 3 years of the Tucson Presbyterian mission school 73 Papago children have been enrolled. There are 36 now on the rolls. The number enrolled at the San Xavier reservation schools is about 30. At Sacaton there are 15 Papagos on the roll. The government school there is well conducted.

It will be seen that in the district visited, with the addition of the Papago scholars at San Xavier, not more than 160 in all of these children are in school. The total number of Papago children of school age is probably about 2,000. Their parents will exercise no authority to secure their attendance at school even when they wish them to go, nor, on the other hand, do they hinder them if they desire an education.

PATHOLOGICAL.—The Papagos are very liable to consumption and pneumonia. This arises from the exposure to which they are subject in inclement weather, as all mud roofs leak in protracted rains and a pitch sufficient to carry off the rain would cause the adobe itself to wash off entirely. Many of the tribe are pitted badly with smallpox. Children are subject to measles and whooping cough in addition to lung difficulties. The Papagos have no medical treatment whatever among themselves, and in case of sickness resort to the "medicine man" with his mummeries.

The Indians seem to be able to deal with flesh injuries, but are powerless in cases of disease or fractures of bones. In acute local pain they sometimes put a pinch of cotton on the flesh and burn it there, repeating the process on a new spot at a little distance. Ordinarily their only resource is stoical submission.

SAN CARLOS AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent STEPHEN WHITED on the Indians of the White Mountain Apache reservation, Fort Apache subagency, and the Apache, Mohave, and Papago Indians of the San Carlos agency, Arizona, from August to November, 1890.

Names of Indian tribes or parts of tribes occupying reservations: (a) Aravapai, Chilion, Chiricahwa, Coyotero, Mimbres, Magollon, Mohavi, Pinal, San Carlos, Senta, Tonto, and Yuma-Apache.

The unallotted area of the White Mountain reservation is 2,826,000 acres, or 3,800 square miles. The outboundaries have been surveyed. It was established, altered, or changed by executive orders November 9, 1871, December 14, 1872, August 3, 1873, July 21, 1874, April 27, 1876, and January 26 and March 31, 1877.

Indian population June 1, 1890: White Mountain Apaches, 2,151; White Mountain reservation, Fort Apache subagency, 1,330; total Apaches, 4,081; Mohave reservation, 581; Yuma reservation, Mohaves, 240; total at agency, 4,902.

The San Carlos agency is situated on a mesa immediately below the junction of the San Carlos with the Gila river. The altitude is about 2,800 feet above sea level. The records of the United States signal service show that the highest temperature for the summer of 1890 reached, July 6, 109°, the lowest for the winter of 1889–1890 was January 29, being 20°. The earliest frost in the fall of 1889 was November 2, and the latest frost in the spring of 1890 was March 16.

The agent reports to the Indian Office that many government buildings at San Carlos are in bad order. They consist of: No. 1, an adobe building 1 story high, 30 by 60 feet, one-half used as agent's dwelling, one-half for storehouse for grain, $1,000; No. 2, a L-story adobe, built around a court, whole length about 300 feet, used for agent's offices, telegraph office, several rooms for dwelling, storerooms, shops, etc., whole in bad order, needs new roof, $5,000; No. 3, several small adobe buildings in rear of No. 2, used for shops, storerooms, etc., $200; No. 4, an adobe building, 1 story high, 25 by 50 feet, used as a meat shop, $200; No. 5, an adobe building, used for doctor's office and hospital, in bad order, $500; No. 6, a new stone building, 1 story high, 30 by 120 feet, with 4 cross partitions, built for storage, $3,000; No. 7, a stone building, same size as No. 6, now building, for shops; No. 8, a frame steam gristmill, $6,000; No. 9, a frame water gristmill (at Fort Apache), $6,000.

a The statements giving tribes, areas, and bases for agencies are from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pages 610-615. The population is the result of this census.